



# Solidarity

For social ownership of the banks and industry

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[www.workersliberty.org](http://www.workersliberty.org)

## After Jeremy Corbyn wins Labour leader **REBUILD THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**



**Join the Labour Party! Join Young Labour!**  
**See pages 5-8**



## What is the Alliance for Workers' Liberty?

Today one class, the working class, lives by selling its labour power to another, the capitalist class, which owns the means of production. Society is shaped by the capitalists' relentless drive to increase their wealth. Capitalism causes poverty, unemployment, the blighting of lives by overwork, imperialism, the destruction of the environment and much else.

Against the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalists, the working class has one weapon: solidarity.

The Alliance for Workers' Liberty aims to build solidarity through struggle so that the working class can overthrow capitalism. We want socialist revolution: collective ownership of industry and services, workers' control and a democracy much fuller than the present system, with elected representatives recallable at any time and an end to bureaucrats' and managers' privileges.

We fight for the labour movement to break with "social partnership" and assert working-class interests militantly against the bosses.

Our priority is to work in the workplaces and trade unions, supporting workers' struggles, producing workplace bulletins, helping organise rank-and-file groups.

We are also active among students and in many campaigns and alliances.

### We stand for:

- Independent working-class representation in politics.
- A workers' government, based on and accountable to the labour movement.
- A workers' charter of trade union rights — to organise, to strike, to picket effectively, and to take solidarity action.
- Taxation of the rich to fund decent public services, homes, education and jobs for all.
- A workers' movement that fights all forms of oppression. Full equality for women and social provision to free women from the burden of housework. Free abortion on request. Full equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. Black and white workers' unity against racism.
- Open borders.
- Global solidarity against global capital — workers everywhere have more in common with each other than with their capitalist or Stalinist rulers.
- Democracy at every level of society, from the smallest workplace or community to global social organisation.
- Working-class solidarity in international politics: equal rights for all nations, against imperialists and predators big and small.
- Maximum left unity in action, and openness in debate.
- If you agree with us, please take some copies of *Solidarity* to sell — and join us!

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# Power-sharing at risk of collapse

By Michael Johnson

**Northern Irish power-sharing institutions look close to collapse, following a crisis sparked by the murder of former IRA member Kevin McGuigan on 12 August in the Short Strand area of east Belfast.**

McGuigan's murder is widely seen as a revenge killing for the murder in May of Gerard "Jock" Davison, at one point one of the IRA's most senior commanders in Belfast and allegedly responsible, along with McGuigan, for much of the IRA's vigilante violence against drug dealers in the mid-to-late 1990s.

After the two men fell, an internal IRA disciplinary unit "sentenced" McGuigan to a "six-pack" — republican parlance for gunshot wounds to each of the elbows, kneecaps and ankles.

For years, McGuigan blamed Davison for the punishment shooting, and last May decided to get revenge. Davison was shot outside his home in the Markets area, near Belfast City Centre.

With a police investigation stalling, the IRA placed their own surveillance team

on McGuigan and decided to avenge Davison's death. McGuigan was ambushed by two men in dark clothing as he was walking with his wife, and killed in a volley of shots.

A number of factors explain why these killings have sparked such an intense political crisis at Stormont.

In a press conference following the McGuigan murder, Police Service of Northern Ireland chief George Hamilton made it clear that the police blamed individual members of the Provisional IRA for the murder.

He did not believe that the IRA leadership ordered the killing but did admit that "some of the PIRA structure from the 1990s remains broadly in place, although its purpose has radically changed since this period."

No one should have been surprised by the admission of the Provisional IRA's continuing existence.

Indeed, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Theresa Villiers commented afterwards that: "It didn't come as a surprise to me... that a number of the organisational structures of the

Provisional IRA still exist but that there is no evidence it's involved in terrorism or paramilitary activity."

Even though Sinn Féin say publicly that the IRA has "left the stage", no movement of this type could have moved from armed struggle to politics without maintaining a military structure with sufficient authority to rein in "hardliners".

Without this, the movement would have descended even more than it already has into a collection of local fiefdoms motivated by apolitical criminality or, worse, a continuation of sectarian warfare.

### RIVALRIES

**It is remarkable that there has not been more internecine republican violence during the Provisional's transition to politics. The anti-Good Friday Agreement groups, though deadly, remain little more than an irritant.**

In truth, the significance of the McGuigan murder lies ultimately in political rivalries within Unionism.

In the last decade, the IRA has been involved in two high-profile murders (those of Robert McCartney

in 2005 and Paul Quinn in 2007), both a testament to its capacity for sheer gangsterism and violence. Both victims were thrown under the juggernaut of the "peace process" by republicans, Unionists and the British government, to ensure power-sharing between Sinn Féin and the DUP.

So what has changed? The Northern Ireland Executive has failed to deliver on any of the promises made to people about a "peace dividend", instead locking itself in sectarian wrangles over parading, flags and other issues of identity, as well as attempting to implement Tory austerity.

This has largely sapped any enthusiasm that once existed for Stormont across both communities. Added to this is a reasonable fear among Nationalists that many Unionists continue to be hostile to power-sharing.

Sensing this, the smaller Unionist party, the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), opportunistically seized the chance to reverse its political fortunes after a decade of marginalisation, and piled the pressure on the dominant Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).

With one eye on the 2016 elections it pulled its one minister out of the Northern Ireland Executive — a move highly popular with over 80% of Unionist voters.

Stunned, and after failing to suspend Stormont pending crisis talks, the DUP felt in turn reluctantly obliged to pull its ministers out of the Executive, effectively shutting down the working of the devolved government which has provided such material benefits to the party in the form of ministerial salaries, expenses and other privileges of office.

This clownish play-acting, which has always been implicit in the very structures of Stormont, risks the return of Tory direct rule, the implementation of savage welfare cuts and an intensification of sectarian tension.

**A political system based on institutionalising sectarian identities within the existing boundaries of the six counties has become unable to provide adequate governance of any sort, let alone a space in which workers can elaborate a socialist politics capable of a democratic resolution to the national question.**



Hutchison Ports are going for a war of attrition against the 97 dock workers ("wharfies") whom they sacked from the Sydney and Brisbane terminals on 6 August.

The sacked workers are keeping up a 24/7 protest line outside the terminals. As the photo shows, on 13 September they displayed banners on the protest line: "Not Silent, Not Violent. No to violence against women!"

Under pressure from the protest line and from workers inside the terminals, who stand in solidarity with those sacked and enforcing safety regulations with fanatical care, Hutchison have been ordered by the Fair Work Commission to put the sacked workers back on pay until 14 October and negotiate the issue.

But they are dragging out the negotiations. They have tried to start extra training with the workers inside, so that they can then have an excuse to exclude the workers outside as not having done that training.

The workers remain determined to stick it out one day more than Hutchison can. Messages of support to [jason.miners@mua.org.au](mailto:jason.miners@mua.org.au). Follow the dispute on Facebook at [on.fb.me/1PajABU](https://on.fb.me/1PajABU).



# Open Europe's borders!

By Vicki Morris

**Germany is back-peddalling on its earlier stated open borders policy and has suspended freedom of movement, as EU governments fail to deal with the migrant crisis.**

Germany re-introduced border controls on Sunday 13 September, and stopped train traffic from Austria. This is the route by which as many as 450,000 refugees, most fleeing the war in Syria, have come into Germany via the Balkans this year.

The German Interior minister Thomas de Maizière said the public resources of the southern German states were exhausted by the scale of the current migrant flows.

Germany has been relatively generous to the refugees and is trying to pressure fellow EU member states to offer sanctuary to more of the migrants. De Maizière said migrants "cannot choose the states where they are seeking protection".

These moves came ahead of a summit on Monday 14 September. The meeting of

EU interior ministers failed to agree on a proposal to "share" up to 160,000 refugees; they will resume discussions on 8 October. Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia oppose compulsory quotas for relocating refugees currently in Italy, Greece and Hungary, so-called "frontline states". In contrast, Germany says it now expects to take one million refugees this year.

Meanwhile, Hungary has completed the sealing of its southern border with Serbia with a four-metre high fence, topped with razor wire, that stretches 175km. The far-right prime minister Viktor Orbán has made it a criminal offence, punishable by imprisonment, to be an illegal migrant in Hungary.

Presiding at a graduation ceremony for 850 new police, who will be sent to guard the border, Orbán said: "Hungary is a country with a 1,000-year-old Christian culture. We Hungarians don't want the worldwide movement of people to change Hungary."

Behind those new police officers stands the army, bristling to defend Hungary's and Europe's borders against... who? Against des-



**Saturday 12 September saw global protests in solidarity with refugees, most of them with the simple message "refugees welcome". Up to 70,000 marched in London, where new Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn addressed the crowd.**

perate families, young and old men and women, with their children and babies, fleeing war and grinding poverty in the Middle East and Africa.

Such is the tension at the Hungary-Serbia border it is easy to imagine that a massacre might take place; there is already brutality. Police have harried and chased migrants; a Hungarian journalist behaved atrociously by tripping up a child and a man carrying a child as she filmed them running from the police.

The EU is, collectively, rich and could absorb the refugees seeking to make their lives here, but EU governments need to stop demonising migrants. They

have to put resources into, first, dealing safely with the migrant flows, and, second, resettling people, with adequate housing and public services for all.

2,700 people have drowned trying to cross the Mediterranean this year, including, on Sunday 13 September, 34 migrants, among them four babies and 11 children, off the coast of Greece.

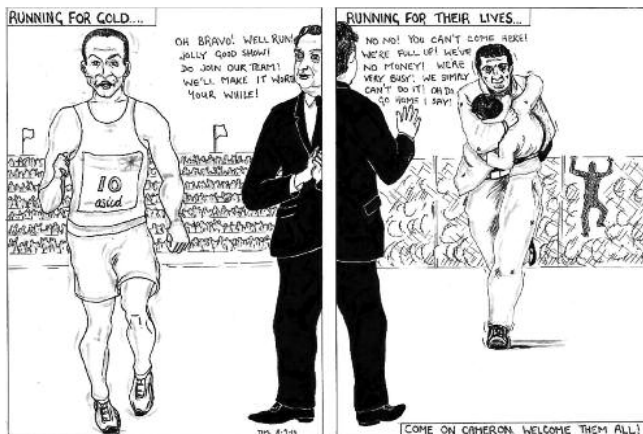
David Cameron has visited Lebanon and Jordan, where huge numbers of refugees from Syria are living. He lectured EU colleagues that they should follow his lead, and put more money into camps in the Middle East in an attempt to stem the refugee tide. "I would encourage others to step up to the plate and spend and invest in the way Britain has done."

But Cameron remains unmoved and refuses to increase his pledge for the UK to take just 20,000 Syrians over the next five years.

**We must increase the pressure and make the case for the EU to open its borders and let the refugees in!**

**Don't keep the borders closed to refugees!**  
**An open letter to the European Parliament by Kurdish and Iraqi organisations**

[bit.ly/10czXAq](http://bit.ly/10czXAq)



## The Iranian regime has murdered our comrade!

**By the Iranian Workers' Solidarity network**

**Shahrokh Zamani, the well-known labour activist imprisoned in Iran's Rajai Shahr prison, has died "suddenly".**

According to the Human Right Activists News Agency, his cell-mates found Shahrokh dead on Sunday 13 September, when they tried to wake him for his morning walk in the prison yard.

Although the Iranian authorities claim that

Shahrokh has died of a stroke, his cell-mates have said that he had "black and bruised" areas on his body.

His body has now been transferred to the coroner's officer for a post-mortem examination. We demand that the results of the autopsy are made available to international experts who have an impeccable professional reputation and a consistent track record of solidarity with labour activists.

The responsibility for Shahrokh's death, whether due to a genuine stroke or

any other so-called "natural" death, lies with the Iranian regime and its policy of systematic persecution of labour activists and socialists. Shahrokh and all other labour activists and socialists have not committed any crime and therefore should not be in prison. The slightest mishap that happens to any of them while in prison is this dictatorial regime's responsibility.

In addition to being incarcerated and being kept away from family and friends, activists like Shahrokh are forced to go

on hunger strike many times to defend their basic rights, to resist solitary confinement, frequent transfers, denial of medical care, denial of visits and a whole range of other petty measures that the regime thinks will break their spirits. These all add to our suspicion as to the official cause of Shahrokh's death.

**Sadly Shahrokh is no longer among us. We will, however, remember Shahrokh every day when we struggle to free every single jailed labour activist and political prisoner.**

• Reprinted, edited, from iwsn.org

**Solidarity adds:** Workers' Liberty is saddened to learn of the death of Shahrokh Zamani at the hands of the Iranian regime.

Shahrokh was a tireless fighter for the Iranian working class, and he has paid for that with his life. We send our condolences to his family and comrades.

We have campaigned for the past two years, with the Iranian Workers' Soli-



darity Network and others, for Shahrokh's release. We will continue to campaign, in Shahrokh's honour, for the release of all political prisoners in Iran and for free trade unions and workers' rights in Iran.

**Shahrokh's name will live on in our struggle!**

## Oppose drone attacks

By Simon Nelson

**Cameron's original justification for drone strikes in Syria, killing two British nationals, was that the "targets" were an "imminent threat" to UK security. He needed to explain contravention of a 2013 House of Commons vote outlawing military action in Syria.**

Cameron said he had seen intelligence that both Reyaad Khan and Ruhul Amin were in touch with others in the UK who planned to launch attacks to coincide with the VE Day anniversary, 8 May 2015. But the drone strikes which killed them did not occur until 21 August 2015...

Then a letter from the British ambassador to the UN Security Council emerged in which it is claimed the strike was part of "collective self defence of Iraq" — the UK Parliament has agreed to air strikes on Iraq and against Daesh targets.

The ambassador states that Article 51 of the UN charter justifies the attack because: "This airstrike was a necessary and proportionate exercise of the individual right of self-defence of the United Kingdom."

And goes on, "As reported in our letter of 25 November 2014, Isil [Isis] is engaged in an ongoing armed attack against Iraq, and therefore action against Isil in Syria is lawful in the collective self-defence of Iraq."

Reprieve, the human rights group which obtained the letter, has said evidence that an attack on

the UK was imminent did not stand up; additional justification had been added to bolster the Government's case.

The justification is based on the so-called Caroline Test. In 1837 an incursion by British troops into the US from Canada to sink a boat carrying supplies to anti-colonial established the basis by which force can be used if there is an imminent threat, and peaceful means are not available.

Following 9/11, the US attempted to redefine what "imminence" means. A memo leaked in 2011 following the killing of a US national (in Yemen) said it did "not require the United States to have clear evidence that a specific attack on US persons and interests will take place in the immediate future."

This gives a far wider scope for "targeted killings" or assassinations as they could be more accurately called. Now the UK is moving toward the US's looser definition. That would give more power to military intelligence and remove public scrutiny.

The killing of Daesh fighters may not be something to mourn, but the manner and scope of the powers which have been used to intervene is of great concern. The so-called "kill list" used by the US to target individuals is more about revenge and military prowess than defeating the growth of Daesh.

**The labour movement should oppose any attempt to give further power to the secret state.**



# Are we too radical?

The Left  
By Sacha Ismail

JEREMY CORBYN  
STRAIGHT TALKING,  
HONEST POLITICS

No one predicted what would happen with Jeremy Corbyn's campaign; all of us are fallible. But unlike Workers' Liberty, lefty author and journalist Owen Jones admits that he did not originally want a left candidate for the Labour leadership.

Jones campaigned for the soft left Wigan MP Lisa Nandy to stand. To give Jones his due, he acknowledges that it would have been absurd, once Corbyn got nominated, not to follow the logic of the fight: "Obviously the thing about history is that it doesn't unfold in ways you can control. 'Hey, history, tell you what, could we run this in three years instead when we're more ready?'"

Now that Corbyn has won, Jones has positioned himself as a prominent voice on the Labour left advocating a moderate course for Corbyn's Labour Party.

Jones' commentary is thoughtful and it has the merit of recognising that, despite its triumph, the left is in many respects in a weak position. He has valuable thoughts on the various sections of the population where Labour desperately needs to win greater support in order to win the next election. His conclusion from such facts, however, seem very much influenced by his increasingly less radical political slant.

- He dismisses the idea of Labour councils refusing to implement cuts, though such tactics have worked in the past (Poplar, Clay Cross) and though there has been no serious debate about them in the labour movement.

- He advocates dropping opposition to NATO in favour of suggesting "a more constructive role within the Alliance". There is clearly an argument and fight to be had about NATO, and it may not be possible to win it immediately, but Jones comes close to promoting illusions about making the imperialist coalition change its spots.

- He advocates "modernising the economy" so that "Britain... can properly compete in the world". There is a gen-

What does Jones mean by "a balanced approach to democratic involvement"?



uine problem of how socialists advocate anti-capitalist policies for Labour when even the Labour left has largely abandoned this terrain, but Jones' formulations obscure the reality of capitalism and imply becoming a spokesperson for sections of British capital.

Hence, presumably, his talk about appealing to "entrepreneurs". In this context, what does rejecting the "top-down nationalisations of the past" mean? Were they too radical?

- He advocates reaching out to "middle-income" and "middle-class" people. There is good sense here, in that the labour movement should represent all wage earners, not just the poorest. But like the Corbyn campaign, Jones specifically pitches to the self-employed, and — unlike a few years ago in his very interesting book *Chavs* — does nothing to explain or educate about what the working class under capitalism is. The point is not that we should simply dismiss middle-class people; it is that the left and labour movement should see our

central goal as helping the working class, in all its diversity, become more self-conscious of itself as a precondition of organising and winning.

- He qualifies his support for greater party democracy by saying that it should not mean "chaos", rejecting "public conferences with huge bust ups over every issue". If this just meant that participants in Labour's democracy should behave reasonably and not unnecessarily or recklessly given ammunition to the right-wing media, there would be no issue.

However Jones is clearly talking about

something else: "there needs to be a balanced approach to democratic involvement". So not too much democracy then? Particularly coming after the Blairite years, this is a pretty awful thing for someone on the left to argue. It might be okay for him with his major media platform, but less good for rank-and-file Labour Party members and trade unionists whose only voice will come through open, clear democratic rights and structures. In particular, Labour Party conference must become sovereign — precisely in order to allow serious political arguments to take place.

**Owen Jones' writings on all this provide plenty to think about it. They pose the need for class-struggle socialists to hammer out our own analysis and proposals as an alternative.**

- Read Owen Jones' articles at [bit.ly/1FcT622](http://bit.ly/1FcT622) and [bit.ly/1USU1Xe](http://bit.ly/1USU1Xe)

## Getting things wrong

Letters

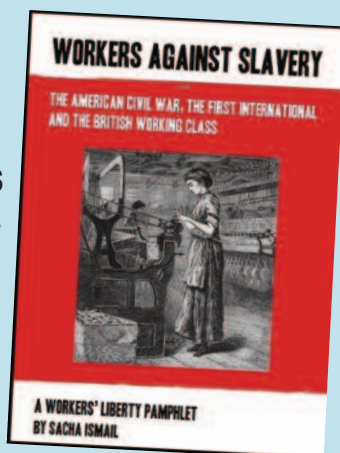


Some delegates at the Labour Party special conference on 12 September estimated that a majority of those in the hall were unhappy about Jeremy Corbyn being elected Labour leader.

Among ourselves, in Workers' Liberty, we consider it tacky to applaud "leaders"; indeed, we have a rule banning such

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applause at our conferences. In the Labour Party, it is reckoned routine courtesy to give standing ovations to leaders. But many in the hall, so I'm told, could only bring themselves to clap politely. Some wouldn't clap at all.

Unlike in the 1980s, we have a Labour Party where the rank and file members are on average to the left of the delegates, secretaries, and such. Activists should work to help the newer, more left-wing members transform the constituency organisations and build Young Labour groups.

But there has been some leftish movement at the level of delegates, secretaries, and so on. Without that, without pressure on Jeremy Corbyn to stand and then on MPs to nominate him, Corbyn's campaign would never have started.

In fact I'd noted that in reports for *Solidarity* from Labour Party conferences since 2010.

2011: "the most lively in years.. some things are moving — too few, and too little... but those in the Labour Party who want to reassert socialist ideas have a little more room to do that. — *Solidarity* 219

2012: "conference is a bit more feisty than in recent years over procedural matters" — *Solidarity* 259

2014: [fringe meetings indicate] "there's more left-wing feeling in the Labour Party ranks than you'd guess from the very-controlled proceedings inside the conference centre" — *Solidarity* 337.

I noted, but I underestimated. I was doubtful that Corbyn would get on the ballot paper (it was a last-minute scramble, after three unsuccessful attempts to get other potential left candidates to run), and then I actually wrote in *Solidarity* that he couldn't win because the mood in the labour movement was too conservative.

**Getting things wrong has many downsides. It has an upside, though, as long as we don't forget our disproved opinions, or reinterpret them: we can learn.**

Martin Thomas

## Corbyn and Benn

Readers have asked why I didn't write about Tony Benn in my whistle-stop survey of past Labour lefts in *Solidarity* 375.

Short answer: the article was about organised left wings, rather than about leaders. Tony Benn was a figure in at least two of the groups mentioned, the Rank and File Mobilising Committee and the Socialist Campaign Group Network, but as a leader rather than an organiser.

Longer answer: a BBC profile described Corbyn as "a disciple" of Tony Benn, but that is not quite right.

In 1992, in the Labour Party leader contest caused by Neil Kinnock's resignation after he lost that year's general election, I canvassed both Benn and Corbyn to stand. Ken Livingstone had puffed himself as the left candidate, but only as a publicity stunt (he got very few nominations); and he was writing a regular column in Rupert Murdoch's *Sun* which he often used to attack the left, particularly the Anti-Nazi League and the SWP.

Benn said no, he was too old. Corbyn should do it. Corbyn said no, he wasn't a big enough figure, Benn should do it. Neither disputed my argument that a real left candidate was desirable in place of Livingstone, but neither was willing.

In that sense Benn regarded Corbyn as the next leader of the Labour left, and Corbyn regarded Benn as his senior. But Jeremy Corbyn had become a Labour left-winger while Benn was still a loyal minister in the 1974-9 Labour government.

In scanning old newspapers to check those facts, I found a report from the time on a vote-out in the Campaign Group of MPs. It was on a proposal to launch a rank and file Labour left activist network sponsored by the Campaign Group.

**The proposal was voted down on the grounds that an activist network with a democratic structure would be dominated by "Trotskyist groups". Only two of the left MPs voted for it: the late Bernie Grant, and Jeremy Corbyn.**

Martin Thomas



# A workers' plan for a renewed labour movement



Jeremy Corbyn will come under pressure from the Labour right and some union bureaucrats to moderate the left-wing policies he advocated during the Labour leadership campaign, some of which were more moderate than what he advocated before the leadership election.

On the other hand he will come under pressure from left-wing activists and from workers in struggle to push forward a radical programme to fight austerity. Which way will things go? To some extent, pressure will decide.

Socialists must raise, and educate the widest possible layers of activists in the goal of building a new society, fundamentally different from capitalism, based on collective ownership and production for need not profit. But what should we advocate as more immediate demands, policies which we can get the Corbyn-led Labour Party to campaign for? What policies will galvanise the labour movement and take it forward?

After the crisis hit in 2008, Workers' Liberty advocated a "Workers' Plan for the Crisis", demands to mobilise the labour movement in opposition to the Tories and the capitalist bosses. We tried to develop clear, sharp demands that addressed immediate needs and issues facing workers, but with a radical logic cutting against the profit-driven grain of capitalism and linking to the possibility of wider anti-capitalist solutions.

## SOCIAL CRISIS

**The economic crash has segued into a social crisis.**

Inequalities are growing; the Tories plan to outlaw effective trade union opposition. We still need a Workers' Plan. As a basis for discussion in the labour movement, and Corbyn-led Labour Party we propose some ideas for what the labour movement should organise around, and demand:

- Back every fight against cuts, back every strike — clearly,

## Build a student Labour left!

**As the new University term starts, many thousands of young people who have been enthused by the Corbyn campaign will arrive at college. It is natural that these new Labour members and supporters will be drawn towards the official Labour Party organisation on campus — the local Labour Club.**

Activists should organise to welcome these new left-wingers into political activity and work to make the clubs open and lively.

In some places it will take work to get Labour Clubs up and running. Many of them have fallen into relative disrepair. To make clubs open, accessible spaces for debate and activism, we will need regular meetings, social events, and campaigning activity — building demonstrations for free education, against Tory attacks on unions and migrants, and for nuclear disarmament.

But we need a political change as well. For twenty years, Labour Students has functioned as the organised right wing in the National Union of Students, opposing the movement

for free education and arguing aggressively Blairite politics, undermining support for workers' struggles on campuses and campaigns of international solidarity, including the movement against the Iraq war.

Many Labour Clubs have gained reputations (some deserved) as being little more than conduits for advancing political careers and organising drinks receptions for rightwing MPs. This has begun to change — in particular through the work of the Labour Campaign for Free Education and the National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts, and the efforts of determined local socialists. But the influx of many thousands of leftwing young people, and the change in the political tide in the party signalled by the Corbyn victory, has opened the way for socialist activists to turn Labour Clubs into democratic centres for socialist debate and activism.

**Campus socialists and radicals should push this process forwards, by joining Labour Clubs this term and getting active from day one.**

## Help us raise £15,000

**On Monday 14 September the Trade Union Bill had its second reading in Parliament.**

This second reading would have gone without a protest from the trade union movement if it hadn't been for activists like those involved in Right to Strike. We took placards outlining demands such as workplace ballots, the right to strike in solidarity with others, and the right to strike over political issues. Sadly placards, posters and banners which have meaningful political slogans on them are a rare on left-wing and labour movement demonstrations.

We can expect to be doing more protests, stunts and rallies in the coming period. Whether for campaigns we are involved in, or for our own organisation we will need to have placards, posters, leaflets and banners which get our political message across. These cost money.

Please consider:

- Getting a subscription to our weekly newspaper, *Solidarity* — [workersliberty.org/subscribe](http://workersliberty.org/subscribe)
- Taking out a monthly standing order.
- Making a one-off donation
- Organising a fundraising event in your local area
- Committing to do a sponsored activity and asking others to sponsor you
- Buying some of our books, posters, autocollants or pamphlets

For information on standing orders or how to donate visit [workersliberty.org/donate](http://workersliberty.org/donate) For more ideas and information on fundraising visit [workersliberty.org/fundraising](http://workersliberty.org/fundraising)

**This week we received another £200 in donations from the Bolshy Bike Ride, taking the total raised from the event to £405. Comrades also sold lots of extra papers at demonstrations at the weekend, raising £34. So far we have raised £10,422.**

explicitly, actively. Fight cuts politically at every level, from the strongest possible fight in Parliament to Labour councils refusing to carry them out. Pledge the next Labour government reverse all social cuts since 2009.

- Create decent jobs for all with security and a real living wage. Support the fight to raise wages, in public and private sectors. Build millions of council houses. Rebuild the NHS as a public service. Free education at every level and a comprehensive school system.

- Defend the right to strike, unshackle our unions. Use opposition to the anti-union laws as a springboard to campaign against all anti-union laws. Promise the next Labour government will repeal them and introduce a strong charter of workers' rights.

- Tax the rich harder, curb inequality. Nationalise the banks and big financial institutions to create a public banking service. Reverse privatisation. Run services, utilities and nationalised industries under democratic, workers' and community control.

- A bold drive to bring down carbon emissions and tackle dangerous climate change. Public ownership of energy and transport, public funding of renewable energy, insulation, etc to create a more sustainable economy.

- Scrap nuclear weapons with conversion to protect workers' livelihoods and use their skills. Withdraw from NATO. Cut defence spending.

- End the witch-hunt against migrants. Equal rights for all. End deportation and detentions.

**We will continue to argue and educate for a socialist revolution to overthrow capitalism. Meanwhile the labour movement should take its own existing ideas and demands seriously, fight for working-class policies, and set itself the goal of a government accountable to and based on the institutions of the labour movement, a workers' government which serves our class as the Tories serve the bosses.**



# Democratise the party!

Pete Willsman, secretary of the Campaign for Labour Democratic and member of the Labour Party National Executive Committee, spoke to *Solidarity*

## What are the next steps for the left after the Corbyn victory?

We're talking about all the various groupings on the left coming together. We need to get all the new members that have joined, all the supporters – and get them involved! Get some excitement going on, build at the base to keep the whole thing going.

We've got the Centre Left Grassroots Alliance, which won four out of six places at Labour's last National Executive elections. That is a very effective base in the Party. If we want to get this challenge together, it needs to be an inclusive thing. If we have people from the centre in the left as well, you have a very strong base, and the Blairites will be isolated.

## What about democratising the party?

The idea of democracy is that it should come from below. You can't have it coming from the Leader's Office, as under Blair. It must come from the party. At this year's conference we want a much more relaxed attitude to contemporary motions — previously they have been ruled out on all sorts of grounds. We want a proper debate, with eight contemporary motions, four from constituencies and four from the unions. We want much more debate from the rank and file, and less from the platform. Last year, just 20% of the conference was given up to discussion from the delegates. We want to reverse that balance. We can have a much more democratic conference. We have a lot of rule changes on the agenda for next year already.

In the meantime, the National Executive Committee (NEC) can open up more liberal structures. We are moving towards getting more good people on the National Policy Forum (NPF). In the long run, we want to strengthen conference, but there may be a role for an NPF to discuss in more detail. It's a balance that needs to be struck. The NPF needs to be properly accountable to the conference, and the NEC has got to have more involvement in policy, unlike under the Blair regime, which took all the policy-making powers away from the NEC.

## What did you think way new members were excluded in the run up to the election?

It does look as if head office has been completely snowed under, and they've used a broad brush approach; if you're not on the electoral register, they don't give you a vote. But you can join the Labour Party at 14, and if you do, you won't be on the electoral register. So I think some of the procedures they had for this election were not satisfactory and that has led to people getting excluded unfairly. The use of canvassing data to exclude people who didn't previously vote Labour is totally unsatisfactory. Lots of Labour



Corbyn supporters celebrating his election on Saturday



Corbyn's campaign prompted thousands to join the Labour Party

members vote tactically, and canvassing data is often not accurate. It's ridiculous that, for example, someone could be disbarred because they spoke at a meeting.

There is an appeals procedure if you join the party. I imagine that quite a few of the appeals will prove successful. I think there's an element of being under pressure here. But then, we've gone up from 200,000 to 600,000 [including supporters]. I think that things will get back onto an even keel now the election is over.

I would be very surprised if we had any witch hunting after the leadership election. I don't think that's going to be a major issue. Corbyn surely won't stand for proscriptions of left groups.

## What's the biggest challenge facing the Corbyn leadership?

You can see that a lot of non-members relate to Jeremy. The idea that only a small number of lefties are impressed by Jeremy is not true. He's not a machine politician – people relate to that. So he is doing well in the polls. The idea that he won't be popular on the doorstep is wrong.

The most important thing is to be able to beat the Tories. A party under Jeremy has to be capable of winning the next election. That's the big issue. If it's clear that Jeremy is picking up support, and is seen as the person who can beat the Tories, then the vast majority of party members will back him.

There are elections coming up in Scotland and Wales, and they will be watched closely. I think there is every chance that he will do very well. That will reduce the stop-outs to a few die-hards. We'll get a lot of nonsense from the Tories about him being an extremist and so on. The extent to which we can unite the party against that is the most important thing.

But we'll be facing a fifth column of Blairites, and we will need to put them in a box.

## What about policies?

There will be a process of discussing and developing his policies, a period of general discussions to get the policies agreed in the Party. It won't be a top-down thing. The Tories will put down a lot of bait in an attempt to undermine that. The extent to which the Blairites obey the whip and so on is obviously a problem. But I think that the number of Blairites who behave like that will be a minority. We won't be in a situation like we were in 1983, when the SDP could split off, create a party and do well. If the Blairites split off, they'd wind up in the dustbin. So they are trapped, really. I think a lot of what the Blairites are threatening will not come to pass.

**As long as we can handle it well, we can marginalise the Blairites to the point that they become irrelevant. It's a problem – but not that big a problem.**

# Organise Lab

By Sean Matgamna

**The trade unions and the working class have re-taken the Labour Party! An enormous beginning has been made to regain the working-class representation in Parliament that in the years since the Blairite coup in 1994 has been more or less absent.**

That is the fundamental meaning of Jeremy Corbyn's election as Labour Party leader on 12 September. The influx of 150,000 new members — including individual members politically activated by the trade unions — has the same meaning, as well as being a tremendous expression of the hunger for a radical alternative to both the Tories and the Blairite Labour Party.

This is the second time since Labour's general election defeat in 2010 that the unions have asserted themselves inside the Labour Party. Essentially it was the unions who elevated Ed Miliband, the former Blair minister, to the leadership of the Labour Party. Miliband made occasional timid half-strangled noises that were more "old Labour" than Blairite.

There is nothing timid, half-hearted, or half-strangled about Jeremy Corbyn and his politics, or about John McDonnell, whom he has appointed as Labour's shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer. To an enormous degree this is a new political party.

## BLAIRITES

**The immediate big problem for those driving to restore a real Labour Party is the Parliamentary Labour Party. The hard-core Blairites are boycotting Corbyn. A majority of the MPs are hostile to this new Labour Party.**

The size of Corbyn's majority inhibits them, limits their options, and may hold them in check for a while. They have a raucous press, TV, and radio to back them and express their opinion and feeling.

The Labour Party now taking shape can't win an election, they say. Thus they exert pressure on the party to stay within the broad neo-Thatcherite framework that has monopolised British politics, including the Labour Party, for more than a quarter of a century.

A Labour Party publicly discussing and disputing its politics cannot win the electoral support Labour needs, they insist. Here they exert pressure against the democratic discussion and policy formation in which the Labour Party must now engage.

British politics has been an arid wasteland for so long because the political parties, and more and more so up to the eruption of politics in the Labour Party now, have eschewed internal discussion and debate, that is of democracy within the parties. The parties have been seen, and rightly, as machines by way of which gangs of careerist scoundrels fight each other for office.

Breaking out of that framework is a precondition for reversing the widespread mass numbness, indifference, or hostility to politics.

It is also the way to restore something like democracy in the country itself. What is democracy when all the main scene-dominating parties have, essentially, identical politics?

Who says a democratic, politically alive, Labour Party can't win a majority of the electorate? Who says winning elections is, or should be, the primary consideration, before principles?

One consequence of the Blairite experience has been to demonstrate the futility of politics that is only depoliticised gang warfare. "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" That's true for parties as well as for individuals.

Getting rid of the Tory government is properly of great concern to the labour movement. Turning them out to put in a bunch of pale pink Tories (and that is what the Blairites and most of the MPs are) is a labour for fools.

The unions are showing that they are ceasing to be political fools and bag-carriers for self-serving politicians. As



# Labour's newcomers! Remake the party!

someone almost asphyxiated needs oxygen, so the labour movement desperately needs the period of political discussion and reorientation that is now opening up.

The tremendous influx of new members — another 30,000 joined in three days after Corbyn's election — shows that the Corbyn Labour Party can reach out to people, and therefore that it can win a general election.

It can educate the electorate, instead of accommodating to the establishment and press consensus. It can be productive, transforming and building opinion instead of being parasitic on bourgeois-manufactured "public opinion", private polls, triangulation, and all the rest of it.

There was a time when political parties did that. Labour did it in the 1930s and 40s, and out of that came the welfare state and the NHS. Gladstone's Liberals did it on Home Rule for Ireland: in 1865-6 Gladstone set out to educate public opinion, losing office because of that and winning it against six years later.

The Tory-Unionists did it at the beginning of the 20th century when they launched a "crusade" to replace the entrenched common wisdom for free trade by what they called "tariff reform".

A democratic system where that sort of exercise is not done, where political parties do nothing but pander to the entrenched dogmas and myths of public opinion — that is a democracy that is atrophying.

The neo-Thatcherite conventional wisdom of Tories, Lib-Dems, and Blairites needs to be challenged, and it can be beaten.

An invigorated opposition to the new Tory anti-strike legislation is the urgent immediate need now. So is a powerful campaign to defend the NHS and against the life-robbing bandits of the pharmaceutical companies.

There is probably a mass movement for sorting out the railway system there for the focusing and organising.

The deeper involvement of new members and supporters of Labour in the party is probably best achieved by mobilising them in action on these and other such issues.

The new Labour Party should join with the unions in unionisation campaigns in, for example, the fast food industry. There are other areas where unionisation is long overdue. Picket McDonalds!

## DISCUSSION

**The opening up of democratic discussion in and around the Labour Party on issues such as the European Union and the Middle East, now unavoidable, is good as well as being necessary.**

Even before the current round of new anti-union legislation, Britain has the worst, the most restrictive and illiberal, union legislation in the older countries of the European Union. Working-class support for a campaign against Britain's anti-union laws is there for the asking, across the EU.

The alternative to campaigning within the EU to change and democratise the EU is a regression to the old Europe of nation-states that triggered two world wars in the first half of the 20th century. Sane labour movement people will not choose such a regression: instead, together with workers across the EU, they will campaign and fight to transform the EU.

The Arab-Muslim-Israeli conflict is politically and morally an issue of tremendous importance for the labour movement. A campaign is necessary to advocate and fight for the only just, and the only practicable, solution, by way of two states, a Palestinian Arab state side by side with Israel, both of them fully independent. It is the absence of such a mainstream campaign that allows the "revolutionary" pseudo-left to infect young people, whose good instinct makes them back the Palestinians against Israel, with an "anti-Zionism" so absolute that it becomes support for the destruction of the Jewish state, and is a form of anti-semitism.

If that is to be discussed now in the broad labour movement, as it will have to be given the past involvement of Jeremy Corbyn — who says he is for "two states" — with some of the "absolute anti-Zionist" organisations.

The new members of the Labour Party are a new "left", politically amorphous and in many respects inchoate. It offers the serious left great opportunities for discussion and political-educational work.

## YOUTH

**Most important in integrating the new draft of members will be the Labour youth organisation. At present it is small and feeble. Socialists should urge the Corbyn leadership immediately to relaunch a proper youth movement.**

Compare the present left influx into the Labour Party with the Bennite left that erupted after Labour lost the 1979 general election to Thatcher. One importance difference is that in 1979 there was a strong activist network in the local Labour Parties. The body of the Labour Party had been vocally opposed to the Labour government for years before 1979.

That provided a frame into which newcomers — and there were many of them, though not as many as today — could be integrated. Today's pre-influx Labour Party is pretty much a withered shell, and many of its activists are people with political jobs in the Blair machine. It will be harder to integrate newcomers, though a campaigning Labour Party can do it, and campaigning local Labour Parties can do it.

Politically, things are much better now. To the Bennite left, it was a basic article of faith to advocate British withdrawal from the European Union. The dominant model they had of socialism was the "Alternative Economic Strategy", a combination of the sort of semi-planning done in the Stalinist states and Britain's World War Two economic controls. Large swathes of the left were Stalinist, with a big or a little "s". It was very hard to convince people then that a lot of what passed for "left" was pernicious nonsense.

The Russian invasion of Afghanistan at Christmas 1979, and the colonial war Russia waged for a decade, called forth



a strong current of USSR-loyalists in the Labour Party, including among MPs. That was a measure of the political left of the left. Tony Benn's Chesterfield constituency Labour Party wrote a friendly letter to the Russian dictator Brezhnev on the premiss that he was for peace.

Today all that old left has, politically, more or less vanished.

On the other hand, the old left had a strong working-class and labour-movement culture that has now receded into the past.

At that time the official Labour youth movement was a lot bigger than the current Young Labour, but it had been for a decade, with the connivance of the Labour Party leadership, under the control of the "Militant" sect (today the Socialist Party and Socialist Appeal), which educated young people into a synthetic ideology that identified socialism with the nationalisation of the big monopolies by the British bourgeois state and preached the idea that the Stalinist states were a sort of "first installment" of working-class socialism. They backed the Russians in Afghanistan all through the 1980s.

That amounted to a strange non-Marxist, even non-working-class, idea of socialism, and a non-socialist idea of "Marxism". (They always proclaimed themselves "the Marxists").

**It will be much easier to talk serious working-class politics with the newcomers now than it was to clear away the political debris of the 1970s.**

## Demonstrate at Tory Party Conference Sunday 4th October, Manchester



**Join the Right to Strike bloc — meet  
at the corner of Booth Street and  
Oxford Road, next to the Royal  
Northern College of Music**

**Details of coaches: [/bit.ly/DemoTransport](https://bit.ly/DemoTransport)**



# Build support in the workplaces

Pete Firmin, Political Secretary of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), spoke to *Solidarity* in a personal capacity.

## What are the main lessons of the Corbyn campaign so far?

That the existing left doesn't have to control everything — the reason the campaign has surged is because it's got out of control and in the positive sense. Nobody has controlled it or been able to control it top down. It's flourished in ways nobody's expected. That has been incredibly positive.

In addition lots of people new to politics or at least Labour Party politics have come around it. There's a big layer of people who are long-term members of the party but have been frustrated over the years by New Labour policies and attacks on democracy. They're coming out to support the campaign too. I don't think the party establishment understand that at all. When people like Blair and Clarke and Mandelson come out and say "anyone but Corbyn", the more reaction there is against them and they just reinforce us.

The other thing is how politically mixed the support has been. It's not a firm left support, it's much looser and more heterogenous. Of course that doesn't mean the left shouldn't be firmly involved and try to influence things, but we won't do that if we assume everyone is fully paid up to all the things the left is for. That will just turn people off.

## What have you and other LRCers focused on?

I organised in my constituency, Hampstead and Kilburn, for getting people along to the nominating meeting — we lost to Yvette Cooper by one vote. Interestingly our MP, Tulip Siddiq, was backing Andy Burnham, but he came fourth. To give her credit we persuaded her to nominate Jeremy and, though she was not supporting him, she defended the decision publicly when it was attacked.

Our Labour Party branches have been doing a weekly stall on the local High Road for the last two years, and in the last two months it's noticeable that everyone who stops wants to speak about the leadership election and a clear majority support Corbyn.

I've been active in the social media stuff, encouraging long-standing political contacts and friends to sign up as members or supporters — some of whom have been purged.

The LRC did a public leaflet early on encouraging people to sign up and vote, and LRC members in lots of places have been doing stalls, or been involved as organisers for some of the big meetings, as well as doing phone banks and so on. We've generally helped to build the campaign. Also, and I

think this is very important, LRC members played a good role in winning union support, particularly in Unison.

## What are the main tasks for the left?

I'd argue that we need a new organisation bringing together the whole of the Labour left, and that's the only way we'll attract significant numbers to get on board, a significant chunk of the tens of thousands who volunteered to actively support Corbyn. Obviously people are already joining existing organisations in small numbers, but only small numbers. Those organisations don't have strong roots in most of the places where there is strong Corbyn support — either where it's not that organised formally or where there's a strong local group.

I don't think the right will be stupid enough to try to kick Corbyn out in the next few months, but they will try to undermine him in any way they can, and unless we have strong, organised support inside and outside the party he won't even be able to oppose austerity.

## What demands should the left raise?

On structures and democracy, the main thing is to reinstate conference as a proper decision making, binding body, which also means scrapping the National Policy Forum, which was only put together to take away power from conference. We need to encourage democracy at every level. Branches feel they might be able to put a resolution to their GC [CLP General Committee] once in a while if they're lucky; we've got to create a situation where those resolutions have some meaning.

Jeremy has been talking about a consultation on party democracy quite quickly, which could get round the fact that otherwise we won't be able to make rule changes until next year and implement them even later.

The debate about reselection is a tactical thing. Reselection is already there, and if people have support it can be done. I would favour introducing proper, much stronger, mandatory reselection, but it's a question of how fast you proceed, as the next election isn't until 2020. The Tories' boundary changes also throw everything up in the air as there won't be many sitting MPs whose constituencies remain unchanged. In some ways it's a red herring: the right are using it as a way to say they don't want to be accountable. On councillors too, we've got to get through the idea that representatives are accountable.

The immediate issue is the Trade Union Bill, and the party throwing its weight behind opposition to it, not just in Parliament — though it's not impossible we could win there — but



Labour Party conference should be sovereign

also giving support to the lobbies and protests and actions that unions and campaigners take. Corbyn will give that commitment. We need to make sure it's real in practice.

Beyond this, we need to put opposition to the existing anti-union laws back on the table; I'm sure John McDonnell will be keen to raise this as he did under the last Labour government. More generally we need to make unions central to the party again.

The other things are anti-austerity, reversing cuts, wages in the public sector as well as private, but of course there will be a fight in the party about that too.

## What Corbyn's campaign has been saying is quite moderate, not really socialist at all. How should socialists respond to that?

Yes, especially on economic policy, a lot of it is quite moderate, and I think there may well be a pressure for that from within the core of the campaign. There's a lot of stuff said, for instance in terms of "tax justice", which is absolutely right, but quite moderate in terms of what you do with the economy. Some of it has been better, for instance on the railways, where Jeremy went beyond nationalisation to talk about it being run by workers and service-users.

There's whole swathes of issues which haven't been raised, particularly on the politics of the workplace — zero hours contracts or how companies like Amazon treat their workers. All that needs to become a very big deal if we're going to build the organisation and support that's necessary in the unions, I don't mean at the top level, but at the workplace level.

What we mustn't do is rest on the fact that national unions have given support. We know that some of them were more solid, but many very shaky, and doing it partly for opportunistic reasons or reluctantly, for internal union reasons. That's certainly true in Unite and Unison. Unless we take the political fight through to branches and into the workplace, it will remain shaky and general secretaries may well try to rein things in. Far from promoting left policies and party democracy, they will insist on compromises with the right. Also, unless the unions are much more militant in their opposition to austerity, the whole thing will lack legs.

The left shouldn't just act as cheerleaders for Jeremy; if possible we should avoid conflict with him, but we also need an independent socialist assessment of what to push. There needs to be a whole debate about priorities, but also a recognition that for many of the new supporters and activists, a lot of this is new ground, for instance in terms of workplace struggles. There's an educational process needed.

## How can we get a new united Labour left?

What's on the table at the moment is the existing Labour left groups working together on various things. In my view that falls far short of what is necessary. But perhaps unsurprisingly there's a reluctance to dissolve into something bigger and more dynamic. In the short term that coalition is what we'll have, I think, but in the longer term things are up in the air. Certainly the LRC will continue to push that we need more.

Where there are strong groups on the ground, where people have really started to organise locally, they need to discuss this and put pressure on the national left organisations, to say it's not good enough to just work together, we need more than that. If that pressure comes from below that could shift things.

The moves in the youth section towards a more united organisation could help there too.

## The "mandatory reselection" panic

By Martin Thomas

The *Guardian* on 6 September tried to stir up panic by claiming that "Jon Lansman, a Corbyn supporter who acts as the spokesman for the Bennite Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (CLPD), is planning to table a motion at the party conference calling for the reintroduction of... mandatory reselection of MPs", as a plan for "weeding out MPs opposed to the hard left".

The facts are as follows. In 1979 Labour conference changed the rules so that Labour MPs, once elected, did not automatically remain Labour candidates in their constituencies for life. They could be chosen election after election, but only through renewed selection process.

It was nothing more than the usual procedure for labour movement representatives — union general secretaries or branch secretaries, constituency Labour Party secretaries, etc. — all of whom are elected for terms of office (maybe renewable), not for life.

In 1990, however, Neil Kinnock's leadership pushed through a change. At the time they said they were *keeping* mandatory reselection, only rationalising it.

Since 1990 no new selection contest is held unless a majority in a "trigger ballot" votes not to endorse the sitting MP. In practice this has made selection contests difficult to get.

Rule changes cannot be proposed off the cuff at Labour Party conference by individuals. The National Executive (NEC) can propose rule changes at short notice, and has

abused that privilege.

Unions and CLPs can submit rule changes, but must do so a year in advance. The rule changes coming to Labour Party conference this year, 2015, are those which were submitted in 2014.

The Conference Arrangements Committee has already ruled out nine of the 12 rule-change proposals submitted in 2014. It argues (untenably) that the issues raised in those rule changes were somehow covered by NEC documents in previous years.

One of those nine rule-change proposals, from Birmingham Ladywood CLP, would replace the "trigger ballot" with asking every constituency to open nominations for parliamentary candidate, and confirming the existing MP without a contest only if she or he gets an "overwhelming" majority of nominations.

The CLP's delegate (not Jon Lansman!) may ask conference to overturn the CAC's ruling-out. She or he will have every democratic right to do that.

In fact many Labour MPs will face new selection contests before 2020 just because constituencies will have been redefined. There will be a periodic review of constituency boundaries. Since the scheduled 2013 review was cancelled, and the boundaries have not been altered since 2007, large changes are likely.

The "purging" actually under way has been not of helpless but harmless MPs, but of Labour Party members' right to decide or even discuss.



# Trauma on the Greek left

By Daniel Cooper

**I spent four days in the sultry heat of Athens at the beginning of September. I did seven interviews with activists from across the Greek left, and met many others. Below is the first interview. I shall publish others.**

It was striking that many of the activists described the passing of the new memorandum in July 2015 — which will represent a further colossal decline in the living standards of the Greek people — as a form of trauma. Most regular people I came across would describe the deep disappointment they feel. The leftists foresee this disillusionment translating into a crisis of political representation. Or, they fear, the vote of Golden Dawn will increase. Notably, the trial of the Golden Dawn leaders recommenced on a day when I was in town: the left and labour movements had organised protests.

It is the political experience of Syriza, which has consumed the left for five years and longer, that they are reflecting

upon, and trying to learn from. One of the interviewees described our meeting as a form of “therapy”. This introspection is taking place at a time of intense political activity for the election. Further debate amongst the left about its time in Government is urgent after the election, and there are no easy solutions. The labour movement is in crisis in Greece, particularly in the private sector.

I attended a local Popular Unity meeting, in the North of Athens, of about 80 people. It was one of many meetings taking place across the country to construct local charters and committees. There were upwards of 15 speakers, each from different political formations. The local councillor, Christos Kassidiss, had recently left Syriza to join Popular Unity. I spoke in the meeting about the upsurge around Jeremy Corbyn in the Labour Party and the prospects it offers for socialists. If Popular Unity are able to pull off a decent result in the election, maybe 7 to 10%, then it is likely that those who are leaving Syriza but have not yet come in to PU will join its ranks.

Each of the activists I met would recommend I meet one man: Dimitris Belantis. Why, I would ask. Because he is constantly thinking would be the classic response. This, I thought, was one of the finest compliments that could be made of someone involved in politics.

Belantis is an activist lawyer. He defended those that fought the military Junta in Greece between 1967-74. He was a member of Syriza since 2005. He has been central to the team of intellectuals that has assembled the Popular Unity manifesto, alongside others figures such as Costas Lapavistas, the SOAS academic and Popular Unity MP.

He has deep roots in the Greek left, having been active for more than 35 years. He participated in the Youth and Student movements and was a member of the eurocommunist section of the Greek Communist Party, the KKE. He is influenced by the works of Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantzas.

**He is standing in the elections for Popular Unity in a central Athens district.**

## Focus on parliament, or on class struggle?

Dimitris Belantis, a Popular Unity candidate in the 20 September election, talked to Daniel Cooper

**DLC: Can you tell us a little about what was going on inside Syriza from 2012?**

DB: I think the elections of June 2012 are a critical moment for Syriza. I believe that in the period of 2010-2012 it was considered important for Syriza to participate in the labour and social movements. This changed in June 2012. The main motive for existing became our access to government.

In spite of this there were some critical points: the strike in the City railway in 2013; the dispute over the public TV station, ERT, in June 2013; the strike of the public teachers in secondary education. I believe that Syriza didn't support these movements decisively. This was because it had taken a view that Parliament work is the centre of political life. I know this as I was also a member of Syriza's Parliamentary group at the time.

Tsipras trying to change the programme of Syriza. For example, he changed our attitude to the Euro. Our programme was the motto “No Sacrifice for the Euro” yet he tried to change this over a period of time. The leadership team started to move to the position that we would be in the Euro at all costs.

**DLC: Today, in September 2015, Tsipras's strategy sounds naive and misunderstands the political economy of the Eurozone: what were the foundations of this belief?**

DB: I think there are roots of this belief lie in the Euro-communist tradition which combines internationalism inside the Europe and cooperation of labour movements inside Europe with the expectation that one remains as part of the Eurozone. They say that if you leave the Eurozone then you will lead us in a separatist direction inside Europe; we will not be able to work together. They argue that our economy will be ruined. They also argue that right-wing movements will increase. Therefore Greek society will be destroyed economically and socially.

**DLC: What is Popular Unity's response to those charges in the election of 20 September?**

DB: Our response is that is the Eurozone policies that strengthen nationalism and racism and fascism in Greece. We can work better with Europeans if we try to break the limits of the Eurozone. Our attitude is not a nationalist attitude. Our perspective is one focused on the labour and working classes.

Of course we know that exit from the eurozone is not an easy path. In the first 10-12 months the economic situation will be critical and difficult. But we believe that if we adopt a national currency there will be easier circulation inside our economy; that we can try to change the productive process in Greece in industry and other sectors as they have been devalued in the memoranda years and period before; we are also an economy that imports many basic goods — we will try to reduce imports and strengthen exports. We will try to as-

semble a productive reconstruction of the economy.

**DLC: Can you offer some assessment of the Left — the Left Platform and Red Network — during the Syriza government?**

DB: I think that we were not brave enough. We should have communicated the debates and disagreements we had more publicly, and should not have kept them inside the party. I think that would have strengthened our credibility inside Greek society.

It was not easy to decide what to do. Some people say now that the Left Platform Ministers should have resigned in February, for example the new leader of Popular Unity, Panagiotis Lafazanis. I don't agree. But we should have reacted more. We should have gone to public meetings and demonstrations: we should have made it a public debate.

I also believe that if you are inside a party with a dominant majority that is moderate, and if you see that this moderate tendency is organised very strongly — with the state and so on — you should not hesitate too much to develop conflict.

Panagiotis Lafazanis, whom I respect very much, thought for a long time about what to do. He didn't take decisions early enough. I believe we should have left Syriza in July, and not in August, after the agreement with the creditors on 12 July. There was a period when we voted against the memorandum in government whilst also saying that we support the government. It is a logical contradiction. As regards to Antarsya, there are many of its comrades that are very active in the social and workers movements. I think they had a correct position regarding the EU and Euro but it is difficult for them to change tactics. They demand too many guarantees to join and work together.

**DLC: What is going on inside Syriza at the moment, in September 2015?**

There is a largish grouping of people that have left Syriza but who have yet to join Popular Unity. Initially this was a formation called the “53 movement”. They are centrists, of about 20% of the party. They were for the Euro, but they made a critique that you could adopt class-based policies for the working class and poor inside the Eurozone. They felt you could change things internally on taxation, employment policies. They are very focused on LGBT and feminist movements.

At the 30 July Central Committee meeting of Syriza Tsipras proposed a party conference in September. This tendency of the 53 voted with the leadership. The Left Platform argued for a conference immediately, in August. Only a short while afterwards Tsipras called an election. This was a critical moment for these people to leave. They felt betrayed.

Syriza Youth has split recently. This surprised me as they were often close to the leadership. They claim to be internationalist, and say that the Left Platform speaks too much of the currency, and not about internal class-relations. But they now believe that the leadership has betrayed the leadership and that the Eurozone must be abandoned.



Popular Unity leader Panagiotis Lafazanis

**DLC: How do you respond to those in Syriza Youth that are critical of the Left Platform when they say that you focus too heavily on the currency; and that you adopt a national road to socialism, as they have critiqued?**

DB: I think this is wrong. The topic of currency is combined with a total programme. It is only a ring in the chain of programme. But it is an important ring in the chain. We also believe that there is no future for the eurozone: for social and labour rights, and also at the level of efficacy. We believe the eurozone will be dissolved in the near future. We do not believe that Greece should take a separatist route. We believe in cooperation with other nations but on the basis of a new, socially new, socialist programme.

**DLC: What is your prediction for the election?**

DB: I think it probable that Syriza will be the first party but without a majority. I think they will be in Coalition with Potami and Pasok. I think they will cooperate with New Democracy. I think it will be difficult for Tsipras to be Prime Minister in this situation, so perhaps they will put another leading person in Syriza.

**I believe there is an upper and lower limit for Popular Unity. I think we will I believe the lower limit is 5% and the upper limit is 8-9%.**



# New ex-Syriza party seeks to rally opposition

By Theodora Polenta

*I stood on a hill and I saw the Old approaching,  
but it came as the New.  
It hobbled up on new crutches which no one had ever seen  
before  
and stank of new smells of decay which no one had ever  
smelt before.*  
Bertolt Brecht, "Parade of the Old New," 1939.

**Bertolt Brecht's words leave us with a bitter sweet after-taste when we read Syriza's central slogan for Greece's parliamentary election on 20 September: "Getting rid of the old; winning the future; looking only forward".**

The call for new parliamentary elections was a desperate attempt by the presidential team of Syriza to survive the growing wave of popular indignation at their betrayal and simultaneously to establish the basic political prerequisite of the new Memorandum, namely to cleanse Syriza of the Left Platform.

The bourgeois parties, ND, Golden Dawn, Pasok, Potami, and the new pro-memorandum Syriza, should be voted down. The aim of the vote should be to give the left parties (Popular Unity, KKE, Antarsya) a mandate to form a truly leftist government, committed to eradicate the Memoranda, austerity and capitalism, and grounded in the active mobilisation of working people.

The revolutionary left should cement politically the new "Popular Unity" party formed by leftist fighters from the old, betrayed Syriza.

The bourgeoisie and its international allies want the ballot box to produce a national salvation government able to implement the barbaric Memorandum, but also to absorb the social shocks and the reactions it will cause. Around the dipoles "within the Eurozone at all cost against the disastrous return to the drachma," "bailout rather than bankruptcy," the ruling class seeks to consolidate a wide pro-memorandum consensus which limits political confrontation to who can best manage the Memorandum. The consensus would be based on the 220 MPs who voted in parliament for the third memorandum.

There is a massive trend towards abstention and an explosion of undecided voters, but the week up to the vote on 20 September is expected to be dominated by the dilemma "ND or Syriza". The threat of ND winning the election concerns all left, progressive forces. But the primary responsibility rests with the leadership of Syriza, who "resurrected" the losers in the referendum over new austerity with their conversion of "no" to "yes".



Now the leadership of Syriza takes the third Memorandum and its full implementation for granted, and poses the question: Who is best... to implement the Memorandum? Syriza or ND? Tsipras or Meimarakis?

Indeed, Alexis Tsipras in Thessaloniki said that any thought of renegotiation are dangerous. Asked if he had to do some self-criticism for having promised abolition of Memoranda and instead brought a new Memorandum, he said that Syriza now "leaves the past behind and looks ahead."

The most critical issue in this election, more critical than the "ND and Syriza" dilemma, is to express politically on the left the referendum's "no" to the Memoranda and austerity. That is the only way to stop the ascent of the Nazis of the Golden Dawn to third place in the poles.

Popular Unity has support from large sections of the left base of Syriza (the Left Platform, Youth, part of the trend of 53, etc.) Beyond the left components with Syriza, the Popular Unity has gained the support of a significant number of organizations of the extra-parliamentary left. It has triggered effectively a split within Antarsya. ARAS and ARAN have joined Popular Unity, as well as Xekinima, the "1000 initiative" and other personalities of the left such as the journalist Petros Papakostantinou, a historic member of NAR.

On the other hand, Popular Unity has not created excitement in the world of the left and in society in general. There are a number of reasons for this. The first is objective: the general disappointment and lack of confidence created by the subordination of Syriza. But there are also subjective reasons.

Key leaders of Popular Unity were an organic part of the Syriza party leadership for too long. Its vagueness and political ambiguity is reminiscent of an overcooked version of the 2012 Syriza, mixed with a flavour of a national road to a long

distance socialism.

For all that, Popular Unity is the main electoral vehicle that attempts to express the world of "OXI", the working class resistance, the youth and the popular strata.

The central duty of the left should be the creation of a mass left which will be ready to clash with lenders and with the EU, will refuse to repay debt, will proceed with the nationalization of the banks, the nationalization of the key sections of the economy under social and workers' control and management, so they can plan the economy for the needs of workers and society rather than the profits of a handful of ship-owners, bankers and contractors, knowing that this will mean a conflict with the EU and exit or expulsion from the eurozone. This left must also understand of the need for common struggles with European and international movement, and be fully democratic internally.

The necessary condition of this process is the ideological and political building of a Marxist left that detects the irreconcilable antagonisms of interest between the working class and the capitalist class and is struggling to connect with them, to ground them and bring them into the political spotlight. The antidote to the pro-capitalist Memorandum mutation of Syriza is not a drachma-currency mutation of Syriza's 2012 social program, nor a drive for "national sovereignty" and "progressive productive development".

**The revolutionary left must be in the vanguard of a regroupment and re-invigoration to transform the 5 July "Oxi" into an emphatic "Nai" (yes) to social liberation and universal human emancipation, workers' power, the socialist unification of Europe and the world, and universal libertarian communism.**

## "More careful, more interested"

By Colin Foster

**John Percy, one of the founders of the modern Trotskyist movement in Australia, died on 19 August, aged 69, after many years of ill-health.**

Bob Gould, an Australian Trotskyist who often polemised with John, nevertheless described him as "more careful, more interested in basic Marxism" than the new leaders of the group which John had long led (the DSP) who expelled him in 2008. One of my memories of John, from a visit to the Sydney office of the DSP in 2001, tells me why Bob wrote that. The DSP was discussing with other socialist groups to set up a Socialist Alliance in Australia modelled on the one which briefly, in 2000-1, united almost all the revolutionary socialist groups in Britain.

John called me into a meeting room and, with other DSP leaders there, set about questioning me about the British SA



and DEA in Greece). He remained active there to his death.

At a memorial meeting for Gould in 2011, John said: "Bob was... a member of the old Trotskyist 'International' group led by Nick Origlass [which effectively expired at about the same time that the new Trotskyist movement emerged]..."

"Bob and Marie and some of the other younger members of the Trotskyist group, and some of the radicalising Sydney Uni students such as myself, and Rod Webb, set up the Vietnam Action Committee...

and my views on it. He was inquiring, thoughtful, and, as always in my experience of him, calm and courteous.

After they were expelled from the DSP, John and his co-thinkers formed a Revolutionary Socialist Party. But the RSP never really flew. In 2013 John and the RSP remnant joined Socialist Alternative (a group linked to the ISO-USA

"From 1965 through his activity in the campaign against the Vietnam War, he recruited me and a number of other young people to Trotskyism. Bob, my brother Jim Percy and I were political associates from 1965-70...."

"We parted ways politically in 1970. Jim and I went on to found the Socialist Workers League (becoming the Democratic Socialist Party)..."

Jim Percy, John's younger brother, was the leading figure in the SWL until he died in 1992, at the age of 43.

Comrades now in Workers' Liberty Australia joined the SWL-DSP in the mid-80s on the basis that the SWL-DSP planned to extend its activity in the Australian Labor Party, and wanted to link with other Trotskyists active there.

The SWL-DSP then made a new turn, away from Trotskyism to a sort of Castroism and to dismissal of the ALP as no different from the out-and-out bourgeois parties. We fought over those issues with the Percy brothers and with Doug Lorimer, who was their theorist for that turn but who joined John in being expelled from the DSP in 2008 and died in 2013 (bit.ly/lor-dys).

**John and his associates remained, however, as Bob Gould put it, "more careful, more interested in basic Marxism", and open to discussion. John's dissection of the "broad party strategy" (the issue over which the DSP expelled him in 2008) repays study: bit.ly/broad-p.**

**The Alliance for Workers' Liberty has written to the Electoral Commission to cancel its registration as an electoral party. The Labour Party should be open to all trade-unionists, activists, and socialist groups, on condition only of supporting Labour in elections, and regardless of how they may have voted in the past.**



## TUC: shaken but not stirred

By Harry Glass

**TUC Congress was still in session as Solidarity went to press (15 September), but there were signs of a bit more rancour in what is normally a somnambulant affair.**

The Congress began with a very downbeat address by TUC president Leslie Manasseh, deputy general secretary of the right-wing led union Prospect. Delegates were left wondering whether Corbynmania had completely passed the bureaucracy by.

Once the debates began, there were numerous name checks for the new Labour leader. More importantly, a number of unions got up to oppose a Community motion calling for more social partnership, although the motion did carry. Matt Wrack from the FBU quoted the Wobblies that the working class and the employing class have no interests in common.

Much of the discussion revolved around the Trade Union Bill. Despite the rhetoric, most unions and the TUC are planning little of substance to oppose the Bill. After a rally in July organised by the Institute for Employment Rights, no mobilisations were organised over the summer.

Discussion was led off by Len McCluskey for Unite. For all the comparisons with the civil rights movement and talk of defying the law, the resolution had few practical proposals. The TUCG group of left unions have at least called a rally and lobby on 13 October, which should provide another focus for activity. But unions should be planning daily activity to resist the Bill between now and the third reading in November.

An RMT motion calling

for “generalised strike action”, which was not part of the main composite, after much wrangling, and passed with General Council reservations. “Generalised strike action” could mean minimal coordination but really meant a full general strike.

There were few other controversial debates scheduled. On the European Union referendum, the GMB had tabled a resolution calling for withdrawal if Cameron gets an opt-out on workers’ rights, while USDAW offered a mostly uncritical pro-EU motion. However these were withdrawn to support a General Council motion, which noted the neoliberal direction of the EU and threatened to reassess the TUC’s decades-long pro-European stance.

Corbyn got a warm reception from the Congress. He promised to fight the anti-union laws and repeal the legislation in favour of positive rights for workers in a future Labour government. He argued that Labour and the unions were organically linked and that workers should have a voice in politics. Corbyn railed against austerity and so-called welfare reform and spoke sincerely about defending migrant rights and the most vulnerable. He promised to democratise the Labour Party and to support workers, such as those at the National Gallery, who are in struggle. It was far better than anything promised by Labour leaders in living memory.

At this year’s congress the tremor of Corbyn victory registered with, but has not yet shaken the bureaucratic structures that hold unions back.

**Mobilising rank and file workers to fight for immediate issues and for bigger politics remains the central task in the unions.**

## Hundreds march to defend libraries

By Gemma Short

**On Saturday 12 September over 600 people marched through the London borough of Barnet to protest against the council’s proposed privatisation and shutting down of libraries.**

The “kids’ march for libraries” protest marched from East Finchley Library, to Finchley Church End Library before continuing on to North Finchley Library, where a rally was held in a nearby pub.

Actors and authors, including actress Rebecca Front and author Alan Gibbons, joined the protest, as well as over 600 local residents, activists and many children. The march was also supported by Lesbian and Gays support the Min-



ers activists and a delegation from the Durham Miners’ Association.

Barnet council is wholeheartedly pursuing its “easycouncil” agenda, aiming to run very few services itself and become merely a

commissioning organisation. Barnet Unison, who organised Saturday’s march along with Barnet Alliance for Public Services, have struck against the privatisation of libraries and other services.

**Barnet Unison continues to fight these privatisations and is asking for support and practical solidarity from other trade unionists.**

• [www.barnetunison.me.uk](http://www.barnetunison.me.uk)

## Construction workers take unofficial action

By Peggy Carter

**Construction workers at Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant in Cumbria have walked out on unofficial strike as a dispute over health and safety has spilled over into the right for their union to organise effectively.**

Workers, mainly organised by Unite, from various construction firms, took part in official picketting from 5.30am — 9am on Wednesday 9 September, but after heavy handed policing of the official strike workers walked off the job later in the afternoon and stayed out until Monday 14

September.

Unite official Steve Gibbons said: “We are frustrated with what happened to our picket last Wednesday. As they dealt with traffic issues Cumbria Police opened another area to get people onto the Sellafield site which bypassed our lawful picket line. It meant that many workers were unable to talk to us and us them. The police were quite forceful with their actions and some workers felt intimidated by them.”

A further, official, three hour strike is planned for Wednesday 16 September, followed by a whole day strike on 23 September.

**The workers are asking**



Workers on the official picket on Wednesday

**for a full-time union convenor on site and their own health and safety**

**committee to deal with issues on site.**

## Gallery strikes continue

By Charlotte Zalens

**Workers at the National Gallery are now on their 92nd strike day in their dispute against privatisation, 36th since they started their indefinite strike.**

On Monday 14 September their strikers’ meeting was addressed by Yanis Varoufakis, former Greek finance minister. Varoufakis said: “If those who run the National Gallery cannot appreciate the real people that make the National Gallery tick, they are not fit people to look after the treasures in their custody.

“And if the National Gallery, at the heart of London, cannot safeguard decent working conditions for the people working there, then Britain’s integrity is in peril.”

Other supporters to picket lines this week have included a delegation of NUJ members.

**Gallery strikers continue to run daily pickets between 9am-11am. They are also hosting regular cake sales outside the gallery to raise funds and ask trade unionists to send delegations to show support on the picket lines.**

## Reinstate the Sotheby’s 2

By Gemma Short

**United Voices of the World (UVW) union continues its protests in support of sacked union members Barbara and Percy.**

Barbara and Percy were sacked from Sotheby’s auction house, where they worked as porters and cleaners, after they helped organise a protest to demand sick pay and for trade union rights.

On Monday 7 September UVW organised a protest at a car auction Sotheby’s was holding in Battersea park.

**Two of the four UVW**



**activists originally sacked by Sotheby’s have got their jobs back, but Sotheby’s continues to victimise Percy and Barbara.**

• Find out more: [www.facebook.com/unit-edvoicesoftheworld](http://www.facebook.com/unit-edvoicesoftheworld)

### Other industrial news

**Probation workers strike, North Sea oil caterers balloted and strikes at Stansted airport**

**[bit.ly/Reports1509](http://bit.ly/Reports1509)**





# Solidarity

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## Fight for the right to strike

By Gemma Short

**On Monday 14 September the Trade Union Bill had its second reading in parliament, and passed by 317 votes to 284.**

This is not the end of the struggle against the bill. It is time for the labour movement to pick itself up and start organising against the bill.

As the bill was being debated in Parliament on Monday, trade unionists gathered outside to protest. The protest, called at short notice by Ian Hodson, National President of the Bakers and food and allied workers' union (BFAWU), and supported by Right to Strike, Unite the Resistance and the National Shop Stewards network, was attended by over 200 trade unionists and campaigners.

The majority of the trade union leadership are still sleep-walking into letting this bill pass with little or-

ganised resistance from our movement. No moves have been made by the TUC for a national demonstration against the bill, and the protest outside Parliament for the second reading would not have happened without the work of rank and file trade unionists and the leadership of the BFAWU.

### BANNER

**Earlier on Monday, activists with Right to Strike displayed a 22 metre long banner reading "Stop the anti-union bill, Right to Strike campaign" from the Thames Embankment opposite the Houses of Parliament**

Hopefully MPs saw this as they went into their offices that morning. Right to Strike also held the banner across the width of Westminster Bridge, stopping traffic.

The campaign against this bill must mobilise rank-

and-file trade unionists, and be part of a project of refreshing and transforming our unions to be organised from the bottom up. This is essential for us to have any hope of defeating the bill, but it will also build a basis from which we can actually break the laws if they are passed.

Many speeches at the protest on Monday night called for mass disobedience if the trade union bill is passed, for unions to take illegal strike action.

Breaking the law, if passed, will be necessary, and we should discuss the possibility now. We should make sure union leaders are not allowed to call off strikes citing the law as a reason.

But the trade union movement has suffered years of defeats and years of top down bureaucratic management — it is not currently in a state where workers are convinced and



gearing up for illegal strikes. And we would be kidding ourselves if we thought the leaderships of unions are gung ho for illegal strikes, in fact the legality of ballots or action has been used time and time again by union officials to prevent or delay strikes.

Many also called for the TUC to call a general strike now to defeat the law before it passes. Such a strike would be illegal under current laws, and it would take a much more energised, democratic and rank-and-file controlled movement to organise such a strike and convince workers of the need for it.

Building a movement the

fight the trade union bill that mobilises rank-and-file trade unionists will get us to the sort of future where we can effectively break the laws, and a movement that can effectively resist cuts, privatisations and fight to better pay and conditions.

### MOBILISE

**Right to Strike has set up a London mobilising group based on trade union branches.**

We call on trade unionists, and activists in the left, to come to our open mobilising meetings to help us organise protests, stunts, workplace leafleting, street stalls and other public activ-

ity against the bill.

Trade union branches and trades councils should set up such mobilising groups across the country and do similar protests and public activity.

The TUC demonstration at Tory Party conference should and will be a focus for activity, and Right to Strike has called a bloc on the demonstration (see page 6)

**Our next London mobilising meeting is Tuesday 22 September, 7pm, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London, WC1E 7HX.**

• [righttostrike.co.uk](http://righttostrike.co.uk)  
• @Right2Strike

## The evolution of two Trotskyisms

**Uniquely, this new book traces the decisive political divisions within the broadly-defined Trotskyist movement by presenting key texts from both sides of the political debates as they happened.**

The book's overall thesis, argued in a substantial introduction, is that by the late 1940s there were two Trotskyisms.

They had separated, fundamentally, through their different responses to events: neither "side" expected: the transition of the Stalinist USSR from unstable beleaguered semi-outlaw state to a continent-bestrident world power, stably self-reproducing at least for some decades to come.

The other issues were many, but, so the book argues, mostly linked to that fundamental division. They included different conceptions of what a revolu-

tionary socialist party should be and do, and what Marxism is and how it is developed.

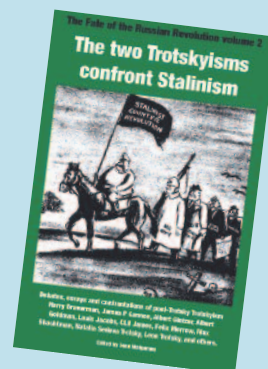
Then came the Cold War and a long period of conservative domination and capitalist triumph in the more-industrialised capitalist countries.

The "heterodox" Trotskyists, Max Shachtman, Hal Draper, Al Glotzer, Raya Dunayevskaya, C L R James, and others, withered and largely dispersed after the early 1950s. The "orthodox" (James P Cannon and others) were also pushed back, but survived sufficiently to be able to claim to a new generation, after 1968, that theirs was the only Trotskyism.

**That "orthodox Trotskyism" has been in disarray since the collapse of European Stalinism in 1989-91. Today's revolutionary socialist politics, struggling to regain**

**ground after the long triumph of neoliberalism, needs to nourish itself by studying these long-shelved debates at the hinge of the 20th century politics.**

**Buy a copy online!**



**£19.99 including p&p (for a limited time only). Special offer: £25 for Fate of the Russian Revolution volumes 1 and 2.**

[bit.ly/TwoTrotskyisms](http://bit.ly/TwoTrotskyisms)

## Protest against the bill

**On Wednesday 9 September Right to Strike served our second "high court injunction", this time on Sajid Javid, the Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills.**

Many strikes have been stopped by bosses seeking high court injunctions against them, questioning the legality of their ballots. As the Tories seek to make it so that strikes in key industries are voted for by 40% of eligible voters we are putting Tories' general election results to the test.

Sajid Javid was elected with 38% of the electorate — in our mock trial we agreed this violates the concept of democracy he wants to apply to trade unions, and found him guilty.



**RMT, PCS and IWGB branches brought their banners**

Over 30 protesters joined us outside the Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, where unfortunately security wouldn't let us in to speak to Mr Javid. Instead we leafleted workers and the public and chanted

slogans about the Trade Union Bill.

**We will continue doing such stunts and protests — if you want to get involved come to one of our open mobilising meetings.**